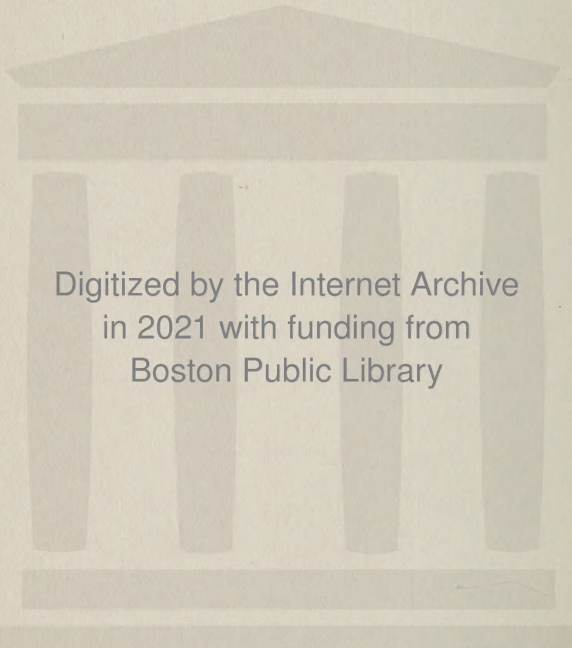


REFERENCE LIBRARY * HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO. * BOSTON, MASS.

*Archive
Collection*



This book may not leave the Offices
and if borrowed must be returned within 7 days



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
Boston Public Library

Richard Rogers Bowker

THE ARTS OF LIFE.

16mo, \$1.25.

OF BUSINESS.

16mo, 50 cents.

OF POLITICS.

16mo, 50 cents.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO.
BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

OF POLITICS

The Arts of Life

OF POLITICS

BY

RICHARD ROGERS BOWKER



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1901

COPYRIGHT, 1900 AND 1901,
BY RICHARD ROGERS BOWKER.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Published October, 1901.

OF POLITICS



POLITICS is the science and art of government, or, in a closer sense, the relation of the citizen with government. Government is the organ of the social organization, the embodiment of the social order, the largest generalization of the faculties and activities of humankind, in an association of all for the good of each — the community, the common-weal, the common-wealth, the state, the nation. It is a natural evolution, and among some animals, as the beaver, the ant, the bee, a high degree of communal life, involving a *quasi* government, is developed in obedience to instinct. As in economics and society man fulfills his private relations with his fellows, so in politics he fulfills his public relations. The art of politics concerns every man and woman in the community, whether in sharing the active duties of the citizen, or in helping to make public opinion, or in fulfilling that highest and most honorable of callings, under a true politics, the service of the state as a representative of the people.

Government

For the greatest nation, like all organizations, is made up of atoms — the individual

THE ARTS OF LIFE

Public Opin-
ion the con-
trolling
Factor

citizens. The aggregate, or average, of their opinions makes public opinion, which, by more or less direct action, is in modern states finally the controlling factor. In politics as in gravitation, in the destiny of a nation as in the shaping of the universe, each atom counts. In the court of the public each man is a juror. Even the citizen who, in a representative government, fails to go to the polls, exercises responsibility and influence negatively, and his abstinence may give the "casting vote" its power. No modern man can evade his responsibility for the state of which he is a part. Each man is to have his fair chance. But he, and all others, get this chance only as he, and all others, do their individual duty.

The Citi-
zen's Right
and Duty

It is of first importance in politics as an art of life that the citizen should truly know and rightly face his right and duty, and do his part in his government, and appreciate its relations with him. For he shapes it and it shapes him. It is delusive to assume that government arose from "social compact" in a primitive and lofty age, and has degenerated under the usurpations of despotic monarchs, and takes care of itself and is bound to come out right when again it becomes a

OF POLITICS

“free democracy.” A government, like a man, is a growth, made by many influences — in the large view a growth upward, but ever needing alert watchfulness to keep it to the highest standard of its actual possibilities. A monarchy may be among the most liberal, a democracy among the most despotic, of governments. In government, as in all else, the letter may be one, and the spirit other.

To know a government, we must ask indeed not only what is the form in which it has historically developed, but more vitally where is the sovereignty and who are masters, what is the public service and how it is controlled, what are the functions and ends of the government. The form may be of monarchy, aristocracy, democracy; simple or highly differentiated into executive, legislative, judicial relations; with or without councils, one, two, or more, and departmental divisions; defined by a written constitution, or only by custom, tradition, the national spirit. The sovereignty may be theoretically with a king or with the people; and the mastery practically with a usurper or the king's advisers or a parliament, or with a party, a cabal, a plutocracy, a “ring,” or a “boss.” The public service may be of

Form and
Fact in Gov-
ernment

THE ARTS OF LIFE

capable, experienced, trained, skilled statesmen and employees, or of "politicians" who have made that word of honor into a by-word, and of "heelers" "out of a job." The servants may be deliberately, wisely, discriminatively selected by the masters, and promptly and easily controlled; or the house politic may be given over to the servants, ruling the masters from below. The purpose and function of a government may be to protect each man in his rights and liberties and do no more, or to conduct and control the business as well as political affairs of the social organization. To know what our government really is, all these questions must be faced and answered. The large workings of large laws at once reveal themselves, but in and with and of these is the influence of the individual — the atom which, responsive to gravitation, makes up the motion of the mass.

**Kinship and
Neighbor-
hood** The simplest government of early times was that of the family or home by the parent, the natural head. This is the primal molecule of society, uniting the personal atoms. As in chemistry, molecules of like kind form a simple substance, and molecules of unlike kinds, placed in chemical association, become

OF POLITICS

organized into a complex substance from which the higher organization proceeds, so from the social molecule two types of government were evolved, the first based on kinship, the family, the rule of race, tribal government ; the later based on neighborhood, the home, the rule of place, local government. The early pastoral peoples, living in tents, wandering with their herds, fighting if need be for fresh feeding-grounds, mobilized, warlike, aggressive, led by the patriarch or by the head-man who succeeded, developed a centralized, military government, in its nature hereditary or successive, aristocratic, despotic. As men became more and more fixed in one place, tilling their own fields, dwelling in their own homes, settled, peaceful, defensive, battling only with nature or for their own rights, there was developed the localized, civil government, in its nature selective or elective, democratic, free. Our English speech reflects these types indeed in two sets of words : the one relating to the family or kin — as king or kinman, kingdom ; captain, chieftain, meaning head (*caput*) man ; sovereign, meaning the superior (*superanum*) or supreme man ; emperor, meaning commander (*imperator*), empire ; realm, regal,

Two Types
in Language

THE ARTS OF LIFE

royal, from *rex*, the ruler ; nation, those born (*natus*) of one nativity ; the other relating to the home or land — as town, meaning a fenced place or inclosure (*toun*) ; burgh (from burrow), a place of shelter, burgher ; city, citizen, civil, civic, from a form (*civis*) cognate with *quies*, meaning a quiet or rest place, the hive or home ; domicile, a little or private home (*domus*), domain, dominion ; state (*status*) or estate. The struggles of these two types have produced many of the great conflicts of history, and in most cases the resultant between the two forces, under the various conditions of each nation, gives that nation to-day its actual and distinctive form of government. So, in speech, the two sets of words have mingled, although in our American Union the word “state,” retained for the territorial units, and the word “nation,” used for the centralized power, have much of their distinctive significance.

Race- and
Place-gov-
ernments

The dominance of the race-idea survived in the characteristics of the Arab tribes, the Jewish nation, the Latin races, the Scotch and Irish clans ; of the place-idea in Greece, Russia, Germany, Holland, England, America. The children of Israel, a nomad people, losing identity and patriarchal government

OF POLITICS

when settled in the land of Egypt, were roused from the sleep of serfdom by their greatest of leaders and trained anew, under their theocratic government, by their wanderings in the wilderness and by the ruthless command to destroy the heathen of their new land, to become the great representative of the race-idea, homeless, yet a nation in the midst of nations. In modern history, especially, types cross and forms mingle: France, racial and military, has the semblance of a republic; Germany, a birthplace of freedom, and Russia, land of the democratic *mir* and of local self-government, are to-day ruled by despotic monarchs in conflict with the people; England, a democracy, has the form of monarchy and empire; America, a democratic republic, restricts immigration and denies its presidency to those of alien birth. But, in the large historic view, the nations first-named have been the "subjects" or clannish devotees of a tribal or personal government, conquerors for the sake of conquest, marauders for the value of the prey: the countries last-named have been the homes of free men, revolting against tyrants in defense of their homes and rights, organized in village community, town, city, state, for local home-rule

Conquerors
and Colo-
nists

THE ARTS OF LIFE

by the people, colonists rather than conquerors, establishing self-governing colonies and waging war and annexing territory chiefly to maintain or safeguard them. Splendid were the flashing triumphs of the Cæsars, the Moors, Napoleon, Spain, but their glories faded before the staying power of the homeland peoples, amalgamating and assimilating many races in a fatherland of adoption and planting colonies of peaceful dominion. Russia when emancipated, Germany freed, England bulwarked by self-governing colonies, and in danger only when strength overrides justice and strangles development, America if she can preserve the spirit of free democracy, rejecting alike plutocracy and socialism, — these mark the survival of the fittest in government and enter the twentieth century as leaders of the world.

The Greek Cities

As the Greek cities, at first the residence of the head of a family or a king of tribes, grew to be the home of a settled citizenry, the city (Greek *polis*, whence our word "politics"), though still made up by *gens* or families, became itself the state. Their history caused Aristotle to consider government a cycle of changes, first monarchy, the rule of "one," degenerating into tyranny; this over-

OF POLITICS

come by aristocracy, the rule of a "best" class, in turn degenerating into oligarchy, its abuse by the "few;" that overborne by democracy, the rule of the people, in its turn degenerating into anarchy, the "no-rule" of the mob, and suppressed by the strong hand of a new monarch. But the Athenian democracy was never the rule of a majority of all, but a government of classes, into which the suburbans, "men of the mountains" a few miles north, and "men of the shore" a few miles south from Athens, forced their way only after long struggle, and which always excluded not only slaves but many free dwellers within the walls. And ancient government in all its forms was a collectivism, in which the citizen was the servant of the state rather than the state the agent of the citizen. Within the city, and among the cities leagued together, there was delegated government, in which various functions were delegated to many officials and councils; but representative government, by which distant peoples could take part in action at a political centre, was unknown to the ancients, and the great city of Rome, developing from the type of the Greek city into the dominion of an empire, fell before the demoralization

Ancient
Government
a Collectiv-
ism

THE ARTS OF LIFE

of its democracy and the weight of its vast possessions, into imperialism, decadence, and death.

The Teu-
tonic Tribes

When the Teutonic tribes, developed in the democratic system of their village communities, but still retaining their tribal mobility and their allegiance to their war-leaders, overwhelmed Rome, the grants of estates made by kings to their barons, conditioned on military service, developed the feudal system which made possible the transition to the modern state. A hierarchy of nobles, among whom the king was chief baron, began to wrest from the sovereign charters or concessions limiting or defining personal sovereignty and recognizing rights of self-government and home-rule. Beginning with Magna Charta, truly the great writing of Anglo-Saxon liberty, this process of limitation of the central power, of separation of functions, of analysis, answering to a centrifugal force in government, has evolved in England a democracy preserving the semblance of a monarchy, limited by a constitution unwritten save in "the common law." Thus the political rights of man have been affirmed, and the freeman has succeeded, in fact if not in name, the subject.

OF POLITICS

In New England the process was the reverse. The settlers, freemen presently in name as in fact, banded settlements into colonies, leagued these into federations, united states into a nation, surrendering at each step to the central government a delegated authority over its local constituents. This process of synthesis, obeying a centripetal force in government, has developed in our democratic republic a trend toward an autocracy, unrecognized by law and irresponsible, which makes possible party domination, the "boss" and the plutocrat in politics. As England, a monarchy, has become more democratic, America, a republic, has become more despotic. Public opinion, in England, responsive to a "question" asked in the Commons, controls Parliament and the Crown; but a party boss, in America, compels a legislature or an executive to defy the popular will, trusting to forgetfulness at the next election, as no prime minister could do. Russia, developed like America by aggregation from its local communities, the democratic *mir*, has become centralized by like process into the most despotic autocracy of the age, and the centrifugal force re-asserts

The New
England
Process

THE ARTS OF LIFE

itself in seething though suppressed revolution.

Direct de-
mocratic
Government

The simplest form of direct democratic government, "of the people, by the people, for the people," is the New England town meeting. In the village community, as in Athens of old, the voters themselves meet, debate, vote their decisions, and select men to execute them. That is possible and adequate only for neighborhood affairs, known directly to all. This is not representative, but direct government; free and full discussion is invited; the minority is expected to make itself usefully heard. But the town meeting cannot meet continuously or often; it cannot decide on matters outside its neighborhood, in which other people are concerned. The select-men come to represent it between whiles; it presently elects representatives to join with those from other places in deciding matters common to all.

Representa-
tive Govern-
ment

Thus representative government begins. When the representatives meet, it is, at the first stage, as a deputized town meeting. But the deputies have not the common interest nor the specific knowledge from which to act. Committees are appointed to make

OF POLITICS

specific inquiries and recommend action. As questions become more numerous and more complex, the representative is less able to decide for himself: "government by committee" begins. Meanwhile, large questions develop, on which men divide into parties; and "government by party" crosses government by committee. As a legislature, or "general court," or congress, or parliament makes decisions for the people in the form of "laws," it is necessary to have administrative officers to execute these decisions, and as questions arise of interpretation or application of a constitution, written or traditional, or of a law, it is necessary to have judicial officers to determine them. Thus the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of government are differentiated.

As the scope of government broadens, geographically and otherwise, beyond the village and township functions, there results finally another differentiation based on territorial grounds. The villages or towns, or in the South the landed estates which formed its unit of settlement, are aggregated into the county or shire, originally a semi-tribal kind of government which we have inherited from England. The State, originating from the

**Territorial
Functions**

THE ARTS OF LIFE

early colonies or amalgamations of them, or developed from "territories" as these were settled, represents the sovereignty of the people and is supreme, except as the united States have delegated their larger powers, especially in foreign relations, to our federal nation. Thus have come into being the complexities and cross-lines of our governments, unparalleled elsewhere, amidst which the individual citizen is too often confused in his duties or misled by selfish or errant leaders. This complexity is increased by the development of the modern city.

Municipal Government

As the modern city has evolved from the village, the town, its complex conditions present intricate questions of business administration which neither the people at large nor legislative bodies can effectively handle. A municipality does not need to pass laws, but only to make and enforce regulations, in their nature specific and technical. Aldermen, councils, municipal legislatures and assemblies, with general functions, have in practice proved useless bodies in cities, prone to degenerate into corruption. Successful municipal government follows the type of corporate industrial organizations, organized to do business. The citizens are

OF POLITICS

the shareholders, whose function is to decide large lines of policy and to obtain capable executive ability to execute their will. In a great city, questions of street construction and maintenance, sewers, water supply, fire prevention, lighting, police, sanitation, buildings, bridges, and the like, are engineering and administrative problems requiring the highest technical experience and skill, utterly different from questions of domestic policy or foreign relations which are the concern of State and nation, and altogether apart from state or national party divisions.

The proper method of municipal government is one which makes it easy for the people to decide, by popular vote, what they will do and pay for collectively and what they will leave to private enterprise, and then to provide for capable business skill to administer the collective enterprises. In England municipal development is more or less under the centralized and continuous control of a national "Board of Trade ;" in America the "charters" of cities presume "home-rule," but party interference from state legislatures is rather the rule than the exception.

Thus in the modern evolution of government there has come to be a gradation of

The proper
Method

THE ARTS OF LIFE

**Gradation of
Govern-
ments**

governments within one country, from the national or general government representing the citizens in relation to foreign powers and in general domestic interests, to the local or municipal government which administers as to the necessities or conveniences of neighborhood life, with intermediate governments of which in America the most notable is the State, sovereign within its territory, but delegating external and interstate authority to the federation of the United States. It is of the very essence of good government that each grade of government should have its functions and purposes clearly differentiated from other grades, and that the intermediate grades should not be multifarious and confusing, to the perplexity of the voter-citizen. The criss-cross of administrative districts in England, and the multiplicity of elective officers in America, are serious obstacles to intelligent participation in and control of government by the individual.

**What is a
Nation?**

The question "What is a nation?" is in itself not of simple answer, for it requires recognition of the complex and subtle forces which make each nation what it is. Rivers were of old the boundary lines of countries,

OF POLITICS

but with steam the waterways are highways, uniting and not dividing, and the physical seat of a nation is rather the valleys of great river systems, from source to sea, bounded by the mountain barriers. Thus Germany must have from France its other side of the Rhine, to complete the German fatherland. But neither place nor race alone to-day makes or determines a nation. A modern authority defines the state as the politically organized people of a particular land. Race-tendency, the heat line, climate, the physical environment, the standard of comfort, the education of the people, literature and art, the character and influence of leaders, belief, customs, — all these make the life and direct the growth of a nation, in short make the nation. Conquest or federation may indeed bring within the dominion of a nation territory and peoples not truly a part of it, as Poland captured by Russia and Hungary linked with Austria, or partition may separate natural compatriots, as Belgium from France. The ideal nation is of one people speaking the same tongue, having the same customs, dwelling in one fatherland as in Germany, or assimilated into an adopted country as in America. The kind and

**Factors of
a Nation**

THE ARTS OF LIFE

amount, the quality and quantity, of government proper to each community develop from these conditions, and their careful study is the first requisite of the art of politics, of politics as an art of life, of *practical* politics in fact.

Sovereignty Under all forms of government, "sovereignty," or supremacy, is the defining test of state or nation. For the doctrine of sovereignty, though originating from race and personal government, has been applied in fullest extent to place and democratic government—in fact marks the culmination and union of both. It is founded on the theory of absolute rule by an infallible ruler who has supreme right over the lives and property of his "subjects." "The king can do no wrong" and therefore cannot be sued; he owns all the land and can therefore exercise right of "eminent domain;" he can require his people to defend him, even with their lives and all their fortune, and can therefore draft them into military service and levy war taxes to the full of their wealth. No person in civilized countries now believes in this "divine right" of kings—except the Emperor of Germany, and his people do not agree with him. Yet it remains the theo-

OF POLITICS

retic basis of statehood, tempered in England by traditional and evolutionary limitations, and transferred with independence to our own States. With us there is no personal government and "each man is a sovereign." But "the people," that is, all the people together, are sovereign, and have all rights over each person, and they exercise this sovereignty through the State, except so far as the States have unitedly delegated or transferred this sovereignty to the federated nation. The State, and not the United States, is sovereign over, that is, finally owns, all the land inside its boundaries, and within the provisions of the constitution requiring adequate compensation can take private land for public use, either for itself or for such *quasi*-public use as by a railroad corporation. Neither a State nor the United States can be sued by a citizen, who must have recourse to the device of suing a government official through whom any wrong has been done. Citizens may be required, by draft, to expose their lives for the common defense, though not for external war, by either State or federal government; and each, within its constitutionally prescribed field, may levy taxes to any necessary extent. This nation has indeed carried

The People
sovereign

THE ARTS OF LIFE

The Ex-
treme of
Sovereignty

the doctrine of sovereignty to its extreme extent, by assuming that sovereignty can be acquired by purchase, as in the case of the Philippines, and considering those who do not agree to the transfer as "rebels" against constituted authority. In our domestic affairs, we are protected against abuse of this sovereign power by the specific limitations of a written constitution, determining the limits of the power both of State and nation, as by the right of *habeas corpus*, the provision that property shall not be taken save by due process of law, and the limiting of militia duty to home defense. In a federated or federal government, sovereignty is thus partitioned by agreement, and the central power becomes usually the seat of sovereignty in its foreign relations with other sovereignties.

Not Force
but social
Order the
Basis

As sovereignty can be enforced to the extreme, it is commonly assumed that both law and government rest in the last analysis upon force, or immediately upon fear of force. But this is like saying that health rests upon fear of disease. It is acquiescence in the social order which makes government possible and is its foundation. All communities are more or less self-governing: most peo-

OF POLITICS

ple behave themselves, mind their own business, respect the rights of their fellows, and do not require the attention of the police. Otherwise, the task of government would be well-nigh impossible, and anarchy would be in sight. Even barbarous tribes find the self-restraint which is the first condition of their progress, in the rudimentary but all-powerful government of customary law, habit, and superstition; while the peoples of higher moral development and organization find statutory law and punishment necessary chiefly for that minority constituting the criminal class. The great body of men do not transgress laws, if they are laws of nature and of "common sense," but respect them unwritten. Thus government becomes more and more a formalized adjustment of complex relations growing up with the complexities of civilization. These adjustments can be made only by general agreement, and thus in the progress of the world the best and most stable form of government has come to be that which develops self-government in the highest degree and promotes a wholesome public opinion to which the administrators are quickly responsive. England lost her American colonies, and has had chronic trouble

Self-gov-
ernment

THE ARTS OF LIFE

with Ireland, because she failed to afford them adequate measure of home-rule, while she has succeeded in maintaining relations with Canada and Australia by developing their self-government ; and her dangers in the East are because the iron hand still rules in India and outbreaks follow the disregard of the natural government of the native peoples. As that education is best which develops a man to self-government, in accord with natural law, so it would seem that form of government is best which develops a self-governing community, in accord with natural law.

Selection of
public Of-
ficers

Under any and every form of government, and not least in the highly organized communities where self-government is most developed, there must be selection of those who are to do the actual work of administration. Every engine, however truly built, requires an engineer to run it, every machine some one to keep it in repair. No engine is of use without a good engineer, and no machinery of government without good administrators. A good engineer may do more with a poor engine than a poor engineer with a good engine ; a fit monarch may be better

OF POLITICS

than an unfit president. An all-important question in the art of government is how the selection of its administrators shall be made.

Now the process of natural selection must vary according to what is to be selected. In simple pastoral life, the man of greatest experience, of length of years, the patriarch, was the fit ruler. In fighting times, under hereditary rule, if the king's heir did not prove himself a good fighter, he was replaced by force of arms or displaced by polite device, and the great captain, the real commander, succeeded to the real headship. But under the complex relations of modern government these simple processes are not adequate. In a given form of government, the best government is government by the best, the most fit, men. If aristocracy were as good as its word, if class government were government by the best class, it would have earned the right to survive. But it has not so proved. Carlyle put forth a simple and sufficing recipe for good government in "Find your Hero and obey him." This again is the best government, the rule of the best. But first, to catch your hare, or your Hero — how shall that be done? It is

The Process
of Selection

The Hero
Recipe

THE ARTS OF LIFE

in this first question that the rub comes, and this simple recipe fails. Carlyle was quite ready indeed to name the Hero, — but his choice was not always beyond impeachment. It becomes evident that the Hero must somehow be selected, or elected, and democracy is, on the whole, the best instrument yet devised to that end.

Democracy
not a Count
of Noses

If, indeed, democracy were but a count of noses, there might be more reason to despair of it. But humankind is not organized on that basis. The Declaration of Independence, in asserting that all men are created equal, means equal before the law. Otherwise it would put democracy and all government on a false basis, not in accord with fact. For men do not wear hats of the same size, nor can any Declaration or other means bring them to that equality. They differ in quality as well as in quantity of brains; and education, which can do much, cannot overcome born differences. If every man is as good as another and a little better, it is anarchy, no-headedness, that is in sight. Who shall be rulers, and who ruled — this is as much a question to democracy as to any form of government. It is fraternity, the brotherhood of man, that forms an actual

OF POLITICS

basis for democracy. And in government, as in the family itself, as in all forms of organization, there must be division of labor, according to capabilities. As the ruler is no longer the chief fighter, he can no longer fight himself into rule; the ballot has been devised to select him.

An essential of democracy is therefore the free play of that leadership which always exists among men, no matter how few. **Leadership** "There's naught men crave so much as leadership." But leadership, like most attributes of humanity, is a relative quality: there is no set line between leaders and led. Each man is a leader to some of his fellows, and looks to others or to some other, avowedly or unconsciously, as his leader. Thus a democratic state is built together. The communist, seeking equality of property and person, seeks first a leader toward his destructive millennium who will preach down leadership while he fulfills it. It is a fact that this natural and necessary leadership is often more actively asserted, particularly in modern city life, by lower than by upper men, and this reversal is one of the failures of democracy.

There is no doubt that democracy has had its failures. But no system of government

THE ARTS OF LIFE

Democracy
the highest
Type

devised by and for humanity has been without failures—and, on the whole, greater failures. This is but saying that humanity is not perfect. Kings never governed so wisely but that, sooner or later, they must be discrowned; emperors but that their empires must be sundered. The hybrid rule of aristocracy was but an unstable equilibrium that presently became the rule of the one or the rule of the many. Democracy, after all, is the resultant of the political law of gravitation. It is an early form of government; it is also, in the evolution of civilization, the highest and perhaps the final type. It is the only type in which the pyramid stands on its base, not on its apex.

Develop-
ment toward
Democracy

For all modern states of high development approach with more or less rapidity democratic rule. In Germany, the Emperor, holding to his theory of personal sovereignty in face of events, fights a losing battle against parliamentary government, and the signs of the times point to the resurrection of democracy in Russia, following the emancipation of the serfs and an increasing freedom of thought and of speech, redeeming that great land from autocratic power. In England, constitutional monarchy survives because it

OF POLITICS

is no other than a democracy. The Crown has no will against the people's will — that were high treason, were it still worth while to cut off kings' heads. The Lords can do no more than move arrest of judgment, and set the Commons to think twice. Because England has developed into a democracy which is not also a republic, let us not haggle about names: let rather this democracy and that democracy compare notes, to see what in the other's system may better its own.

And the tendency is not only toward democracy, but toward the extreme of universal suffrage. There are fond mothers who wish the universe were so constructed that children might learn to swim before they dare the water, and timorous statesmen wish that universal suffrage might not come until the people are trained to it. Nature insists on the heroic method; it is her way because it is the only way. It is for parents, by alert care, to prevent danger; it is for the educated, in like manner, to assist the ignorant against their ignorance. Undoubtedly, there is danger. The sudden revolutions of republicanizing, not yet republican, France, illustrate the danger. The history of our Southern States since the civil war illustrates the dan-

Universal
Suffrage

THE ARTS OF LIFE

ger. It is real. But it is not overwhelming. Responsibility can only be learned through responsibility. And it is never illiteracy that has the casting vote : that belongs with the men who, thinking, lead. If they will — of course, if they will ! If they will not, it is not for them to cast stones.

Suffrage has been associated historically with the more active, the male sex. As the passive sex has become more active, woman suffrage has become a practical question. Since women have claimed and won the right to earn their living, to hold property, to serve the state, their right to vote seems indeed a logical sequence. It is perhaps a question whether it is worth while to add to woman-kind this burden of responsibility, to add to the suffrage this increase of machinery, by a duplication which might avail little and would cost much. With the woman of conscience, of education, of high purpose, adding her vote to that of the best men, must come also to the polls the woman of degradation, of ignorance, ready to sell her vote as she sells herself. The influence of woman in politics need be no less vital because she does not take mechanical part in voting ; if she, as mother, wife, sister, daughter, calls

Woman
Suffrage

OF POLITICS

to the manhood of the nation to come up higher, it responds. There could be no war in a nation where women oppose war except as in the defense of homes and honor, men and women alike respond, each in their way, to the nation's need.

The form of government evolved for our day is thus a democracy of universal suffrage, responsive to responsible leaders. The method of government must accordingly provide against unintelligent and hasty action by the crowd under intoxication of brute impulse or bad leadership, and provide for the selection and direction of fit and true leaders. A wide and wholesome education, that shows the real relations underlying mere surface relations, is thus the first need of democracy. America early recognized this fact by her system of common schools. The founders of the American Constitution, who have proved to be among the wisest of men, prescribed many checks against hot-blooded action by the people, some of which have proved most effective and others singularly ineffective. Sir Henry Maine speaks of the safeguards over the amendment of the Constitution, requiring now the concurrent

Precautions
needed for
Democracy

THE ARTS OF LIFE

action of a hundred legislative chambers or the people of nearly fifty States; of the functions of the Supreme Court; of the denial to the States of power to impair the obligations of contracts — as “like those dams and dikes . . . controlling the course of a mighty river which begins amid mountain torrents, and turning it into one of the most equable water-courses in the world.” Contrariwise, the electoral college does not elect: it proves but an awkward device that complicates matters. The executive was intended to be independent of Congress; but the power of confirmation vested in the upper house, through the spoils system, “courtesy of the Senate,” tenure-of-office laws, soon developed dependence. The Senate itself, contrived to prevent bad laws, has served to obstruct good ones: it has become not an aristocracy conserving, but a plutocracy opposing, which is not good. The upper house, in many State legislatures, is the stronghold of corruption. The alternative method of electing United States senators by State legislatures, adopted in preference to direct election by the people of the State, has promoted the election of State legislators on national party lines, and every three years has subordinated

Checks
upon Gov-
ernment

OF POLITICS

questions of State business to the choice of a senator. The representatives were not to take office at once, lest they should be too hot from the people: but it has more than once happened that the people in an election showed cool common sense which they could not apply in Congress till another year of down-hill legislation had passed. Congress itself is so alarmed as to the bad things that it may do that it ties and twists itself up in red-tape rules which prevent it from doing good and needed things. The supreme judiciary, devised to steady the government and right Congress, has reversed its decisions from a packed bench, and has been accused, in its legal-tender decisions, of telling Congress it can do what it pleases with the Constitution. It has been said that our checks on government check government.

In the evolution of government, and especially of democratic government, political "parties" have been developed as the means of expressing the will of the people. In a sense, they have existed under all governments; in the grand prophetic books of the Bible can be heard the clash of opposing parties in Israel, one for alliance with Egypt, **Parties**

THE ARTS OF LIFE

the other for alliance with Assyria, while the prophet-statesman Isaiah, the reformer and "mugwump" of his time, pleaded for a patriotic self-reliance "whose strength is to sit still." The "fathers of the Republic," as is seen in the original provision of the Constitution by which the one second in the vote for President should become Vice-President, looked forward to a unanimous and millennial patriotism, in which parties should be no more. But the unanimous election of Washington and the "era of good feeling" in which Madison was elected with but one dissenting vote were soon followed by party dissensions which tore that theory to tatters. Patriotism rests on common agreement; parties spring from mutual disagreement. Patriots disagree as to what principle or policy *is* patriotism — hence parties. So long as voters differ as to what is best for the state, parties exist. They are a natural evolution, not an artificial invention — as those think who would "abolish" parties to cure their evils. Parties are the means by which the people themselves, self-organized, shape their own issues, by formulating the principles and naming the candidates for or against whom voters are to vote. The alternative

A natural
Evolution

OF POLITICS

of having issues shaped by government officials, as for the French *plebiscite*, gives a bureaucracy or a ministry undue power, and is contrary to democratic method. The *referendum*, or direct vote of the people in place of decision by representatives, and the direct initiative by the people in proposing laws, would in no wise dispense with parties. The use of parties is to enable each voter to say, in a way easy to him, what he wants his government to do. The more fully we recognize that parties are our natural methods of deciding political issues, the better should their function be fulfilled.

When, on any subject, a whole community is of one mind, there can be no "party question." If the great body of the people wills to have something done, it is done; machinery cannot stand in the way; it gets done, despite all. Such questions solve themselves: they cannot become "issues." For "the common defense" parties unite and division disappears; even in foreign wars, of expansion or conquest, the public mind is apt for the time to decry as "traitors" those who oppose what they think "criminal aggression." An administration seldom fails to get a practically unanimous vote, in Congress or

Non-party
Decisions

THE ARTS OF LIFE

Parliament, for war supplies ; difference between countries belittles and overwhelms differences within country. It is only when two contestants are of unknown or fairly mated strength that there is a struggle. A nearly even division is the *sine qua non* of party : otherwise the overwhelming majority has its way. This is why there are usually two great parties, and no more, and these nearly equal in voting strength.

Political Campaigns

Parties furnish the means to enable some men to vote on one side, other men to vote on the other side, of a question in dispute. Thus an "issue" is made. When a vote is taken, on a principle or policy at issue, the voting must be for or against, "yes" or "no." On a constitutional amendment, voters do vote "yes" or "no" at the polls, but on most questions they record themselves on either side by naming on their ballots the nominees who take the same view that they take. In a natural, normal, "ideal" party system, two parties, confronting each other in candid and honest disagreement, state each in its "platform" the principles it represents and the policy it proposes, and nominate fit men pledged to enact or execute the will of the people expressed in their election. A politi-

OF POLITICS

cal campaign is then a great educational process for all the people, a common school of statesmanship, in which by public meetings, through the press, and in personal debate, each voter may inform himself, "make up his mind," and cast his conscience vote.

But parties may fail of their purpose, and need to be supplanted or re-formed. As the Constitution permits amendment by which the framework of our government may be modified, so our party system permits change in the policy or personnel of government. When the great parties ignore or evade the real question on which people want to vote, or becloud the paramount issue of the hour by multifarious confusion of issues, or when they treat party as not a means but an end, or subordinate patriotism to party-ism, overthrow from without or reform from within becomes necessary to one or both.

Then a new party or third party may be needed, to do the work of the chemical reagent which re-arranges molecules and effects new combinations in matter. The early statesmen, the politicians of later days, evaded the issue of slavery until their evasion nearly lost us our country; and with the watchword of liberty, the Republican

Re-form of
Parties

Third-party
Movements

THE ARTS OF LIFE

party supplanted the Whig party and saved the Union at the awful cost of civil war. The early Abolitionists preferred to "throw away their votes" as a protest party, because what was to their minds the most vital of issues was ignored, and thus to open the way for a party which would face the issue which the great parties evaded. So also the present Prohibitionists, the labor men, the Irish Nationalists in the English Parliament — fanatics willing to be political martyrs in a great cause! Thus a third party, reckless of present success, builds for the future, hoping by its initiative to become one of two great parties, or to bring one of the existing great parties to accept its views. As a "dominant minority," holding the balance of power, able by alliance with one of the great parties or by opposition to give the "casting vote," such a party may become a most effective element in active politics, wholesome or destructive, vitalizing or corrupting, far beyond its numerical strength. Or, when a great party fails to realize in its policy its declared principles, or loses purpose and seeks only to perpetuate its power as an "organization" or "machine," or nominates men untrue to its principles or unfit to

A "dominant
Minority"

OF POLITICS

represent the people, then also a "reform" vote by those dissatisfied with their own party, and not in agreement with the opposing party, has its use. Thus the "scratching" Republicans of 1879, "voting in the air" to clear the air — not the assassins but the physicians of their party — using abstinence as a warning silence! Thus the Independents or "mugwumps" of 1884, uniting with their opponents to elect a Democratic President in protest against what they thought an unfit nomination! Thus the "gold Democrats" of 1896, helping to elect a Republican President in the interest of "honest money" and "sound currency!" A third party is, in theory as in fact, always a makeshift to supplant or to reform one of two great parties, a bridge by which to cross to firmer ground.

Disintegration of the party system sets in when one party becomes so large that its victory seems sure, inviting corruption, jealousies and divisions, or where both parties break into "groups." For years the dominant party in New York city was divided into "halls," one of which allied itself with the common enemy when it could not get its terms from the ruling faction of its own

"Groups"

THE ARTS OF LIFE

party. In European legislative bodies, "groups" of the Right, the Center, and the Left, in shifting and shifty alliances, control policies and make or unmake ministries, until too often principles are forgotten in bargains for place. Some observers count this a normal development of the party system, but it seems rather to show the deadness of decadence — to be revived into wholesome two-sided division when the breath of a live question fans the coals. For government by "groups" becomes a government by cabal, and belittles the influence of the individual by confusing the effect of his vote.

The Misuse of Parties

The abuse of parties is to make them not a means but an end, to put party before *patria*, party-ism first, patriotism second. This is that law of death which nature makes part of the greater law of life. Party crystallizes into organization, and the organization seeks to perpetuate itself. The statesmen, the voters, who would realize principles into action, find the machinery no longer their instrument but their master; the chief engineer has usurped the captain's place, and is running the ship to suit his pirate crew instead of bringing his passengers into the haven where they would be. The "profes-

OF POLITICS

sional politician" is not free from the narrowing tendencies of the professional mind. As the doctor boasts the skill of his operation rather than the saving of life, the lawyer thinks of the precedents for his case rather than the wide principles of justice, the minister emphasizes joining the church rather than living the Christ-life, so he has in mind the saving of the party rather than the saving of the country. Thus he avoids facing the paramount issue on which voters want to vote, lest the majority should be against his party; confuses the mind and throws dust in the eyes of the public by phrasing political platitudes, raising multitudinous issues, avoiding specific proposals of party action, and abusing the "record" of the other party instead of asserting the principles of his own; and nominates men who represent the absence of principle but who wear the party uniform and shout for loyalty to the old flag. Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned his countrymen against the misuse of parties as "potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unscrupulous men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying, afterward,

The "Professional Politician"

THE ARTS OF LIFE

the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion." This is prophecy of the modern party "boss," over-lording his own party, and supported by his fellow of the opposing party through the "cohesive influence of public plunder" or the necessary alliance of political powers,—a situation met at last by revolt of the body of the people against the usurpers of popular rights, the more dangerous the longer it is deferred.

Continuity of Parties

In a Greek democracy or a New England town meeting, where all may meet together, parties may make and break, as the issue comes, holding together so long as the need remains and no longer, whether it be for a century or a day. But in a great nation of over fifteen million voters, and polling nearly fourteen million votes, where there is more or less geographical or other difference as to what should be the paramount issue, where a party must include seven million voters, living three thousand miles apart, a party cannot be organized in the twinkling of an eye, or in a single campaign. A high degree and wide range of organization is required to make clear the principles on which, and designate the men for or against whom, this enormous number of votes is

OF POLITICS

to be cast. Our parties must have geographical unity and historical persistence; sectional feeling, the passion of the moment, is happily inadequate to their formation. With all its disadvantages, this is practically one of our most important national safeguards.

Yet it is on the fluency of parties that their usefulness and the safety of the state depend. As the ocean tides sway the drops of water, so parties should attract by their principles the suffrages of voters, and thus give flexibility, and the means of purification, to government. Rome fell before internal corruption and external attack because her government lacked adaptiveness and righting power; only the overwhelming by new and cleaner blood could wash out her stains. Our government may endure the longer, because we can use parties, one against another, to alter or reverse policy within our constitutional forms without revolution and to purge the state of corruption. Parties fall, the Republic survives. To accomplish this, we must be alert to prevent corruption within parties, to re-form them on vital issues, to overwhelm them when corrupt. It is in this way, by the free and prompt transfer of votes,

Fluency
of Parties

THE ARTS OF LIFE

whether one by one, or through a third party, that our nation is kept safe and alive. The successive reversals of party success in the four Presidential elections of 1884 to 1896 proved how safely and successfully this can be done. But there is yet a simpler way in which the individual citizen may have his influence in the body politic, — by his part in the forming of public opinion. A shower of letters in the morning mail on the desks of legislators has carried or defeated many a measure, and a president has been influenced on the larger questions of policy by the huzzas of the crowd. The good citizen who would have good government must see to it that the visible and audible expressions of public opinion represent the higher and not the lower thought of the nation.

National
and local
Issues

Under democratic government, it is of first importance that real issues should be put cleanly and clearly to popular vote. Our differentiation into national, State, and local governments, as well as our division into parties, affords this opportunity. The broad field of national party should see clear lines drawn on the "paramount issue" in national affairs, as slavery, or a protective or

OF POLITICS

revenue tariff, or the standard of money, or the annexation of territory. A local contest is on quite other lines, and chiefly as to questions such as how far the town or city shall undertake public works, or what should be its policy as to the liquor traffic. Yet, since national party organization must have its roots in district or local organization, it is usually through the local machinery of national parties, both in America and England, that local issues are shaped ; and party names and cries are used to influence votes on whether or not to build a new road or start a new school. A curious result has been that in two of our States voters of the same party name may take exactly opposite sides of a state issue, as when in one State the Republican party was for and the Democratic party against prohibition, while in another in the same campaign the relations were reversed. This incidental evil of the party system is thus in a measure its own corrective, for it should teach voters to vote irrespective of party name on real issues, first on local and finally on national questions, and thus promote fluency of parties and responsiveness within them to public opinion.

If the people, by help of parties, are to

THE ARTS OF LIFE

Issues
should be
few and
simple

decide what they will have done, by electing men who will enact or execute their will, it is evident that the issues put before them should be few and simple. Only those, therefore, need be elected who are as legislators or executives to define or execute a political policy. Those who are to administer justice, as judges, sheriffs, district attorneys; those who are to do routine public business, as assessors, clerks, "civil servants" in general, whose functions are all essentially non-partisan, may better be selected by appointment, or by business examination, or by agreement among parties, rather than by competitive election at the polls. Intelligent choice cannot be made by the voter for scores of offices. The courts of highest judicial function which interpret constitutions and laws are removed by the federal constitution from popular election, lest calm and wise judgment be biased by party controversy, and partisan appointments of judges by the executive have been violations of its spirit.

Deposition
by popular
Vote

We lack for our democracy a feature which Athens had crudely in its ostracism—a method of deposition by popular vote either of an elected or appointed officer, by which

OF POLITICS

two-thirds or three-fourths of the voters, a number far beyond party divisions, could deprive an unworthy or unrepresentative officer of his place and deny him reelection, so that the people of a State could recall their senator, or of a city could remove their mayor or any officer so unworthy as to have lost public confidence to that extent.

It is too often true that the everlasting "yea" and the everlasting "nay," as Carlyle has it, can be much beclouded and confused in that foggy present where no stars shine clear. There are transitional periods when parties represent nothing. The past issue is past, the next issue they cannot or will not see. The ins are in, and the outs are out: that is the difference. The ins want to keep out, the outs to put out, their adversaries. Leaders who fought the old battles fear new grounds. They desire to "keep out of politics" the vital issues. Sooner or later the spark drops, the flame burns: the dead past is bid bury its dead; there are new issues, new formings of the old, new men. Meantime, however, the vitality of parties wanes, they become corrupt, they become machines for resisting instead

Periods of
Transition

THE ARTS OF LIFE

Administra- tive Reform

of promoting progress. This explains why, after a great issue had been solved by a great war, the American people set itself to petty tasks of administrative reform. Before a locomotive can make progress, broken rails must be mended, bridges rebuilt, the tracks cleared of cows. This is not inspiring work: there is nobody to oppose it—except the owners of cows. Passengers lay by, and wait for “the other people” to do the work. After the wreckage of the civil war, this was precisely the task left to the American nation: reconstruction, rehabilitation, the clearing away of the spoils system, which last was much resisted by those having vested rights in spoils. The war party lost enthusiasm in this work, and the sutlers displaced generals as leaders.

The spoils System

Civil service reform was the first need to set parties on the right track again. The “spoils system” made parties ends, not means. Its working tended to prevent parties shaping themselves anew to new issues. Civil service reform was not a party issue, because there was no other side. No valid defense of the spoils system could be made on which a party could “go to the people.” That is true of most measures affecting gov-

OF POLITICS

ernmental machinery : men will disagree as to where they want to go, but they will not disagree that if they are to go anywhere the locomotive must be kept in good working order. Accordingly, struggles for administrative reform are not between parties but within parties, and chiefly within the party which, being in possession, can accomplish reform. The contest is between the men who see the real use of parties, that is, to meet questions, and the men who prefer in their own interest or inertia to keep things as they are and leave disturbing questions undecided. It is a misfortune when the nomination of unfit men turns the popular vote from public to personal issues, or when corruption makes necessary a vote upon the mere machinery of administration, or when the machinations of politicians confuse the citizen with multifarious or beclouded issues. This is but clearing away of weeds instead of growing crops. Yet when the growth of weeds chokes the land, it becomes the first business of life to root out the weeds. But this must be a continuing process, in politics as in farming. Mere machinery is of little avail. Underneath all, public opinion rules ; that alone is the final check. Every machine

Conflicts
within
Parties

THE ARTS OF LIFE

must have vitalizing force behind it; every system of spies presuppose an honest man somewhere. The people judge the judgments and rule the rulers. The supreme court is that of the whole people. Here again we reach universal suffrage, and cannot evade it.

What Government
must and
may do

When we ask what government is to do, two theories, of individualism and collectivism, confront us. Government *must* keep order, safeguard persons and property, define the marital and parental responsibilities on which the social order is based, determine property and contract rights and administer civil justice, prevent and punish crime, fix the political relations of citizens within the state and represent them with foreign powers. These have been called the constituent functions, those which constitute government: they simply prevent interference with the individual and make sure he is let do (*laissez faire*) as he will. Government *may* also concern itself with the administration of trade and industry, of commerce and navigation, of labor, of coinage and banks, of highways, canals, and railroads, of postal, telegraph, and telephone facilities, of water and light sup-

OF POLITICS

ply, of education, of sanitation and quarantine, of charity, of forestry and fisheries, and, through sumptuary laws, of the conduct and habits of the people. These have been called the ministrant functions, and they may be exercised in various degrees, — regulative, constructive, operative, — until in the extreme they culminate in the socialist organization, in which each worker is an industrial soldier working in state industries under order of government officials. These two extremes represent the two extreme theories of government. According to one, government is to do nothing — *laissez faire*: it is chiefly to prevent wrong by policing it. According to the other, government is to do everything: as the highest type of organized human coöperation, it must be paternal, constructive, and accomplish everything.

In governments, as actually existing and working, particularly in the several States of the American Union and their great cities, almost every variety of combination within these extremes is indeed to be found — and this, in foreign countries, without regard to the form of government. England, a monarchy in form, is historically the champion of *laissez faire* or non-interference govern-

Variant
Practice of
Govern-
ments

THE ARTS OF LIFE

City and
national
Enterprises

ment ; yet it owns and operates telegraph, telephone, postal savings-bank, and parcel post systems, and has been pushed by its democracy through trades unions into extremes of factory legislation. Some English cities sell water, gas, electricity ; others operate street-tramways ; others afford free libraries, museums, baths, music, recreation for their citizens ; London has a free ferry. Germany and Austria own and operate all their railways : France and Russia some ; Italy has taken state possession of all and again put their operation under private corporations — but a private company supplies through-car facilities throughout the continent of Europe. Spain works the tobacco factories as a government monopoly, for purposes of revenue ; Norwegian cities monopolize the liquor traffic in the interest of temperance. Germany provides compulsory insurance and old-age pensions for workingmen. The United States favors or taxes specific industries by means of a protective tariff. The State of New York owns and operates its great canal. It engages its prisoners in trades, though laws originating from the trades unions prevent sale of their products. All American cities maintain streets, bridges, parks, libraries, hospitals, wa-

OF POLITICS

ter-supply; some produce, others purchase, gas or electricity. New York city has a poor fund from which free coal has been supplied.

In the last analysis, the most vital issue in politics, in most times and the world over, is this between individualism and collectivism, the question whether the individual citizen shall do all possible for himself or the collective power of the state shall do all possible for him. These lines in government correspond somewhat to those between "Protestant" and "Catholic" in religion; "Being a Catholic, I am naturally a socialist," said one man. The struggle underlies all history, for this collective power may be wielded by a monarch or in a Republic as well as under socialism, in which society undertakes to arrange the life of each citizen for the collective good, or under communism, in which each citizen is compelled to surrender his goods or his earnings for the common use. The collectivist view is that the state or sovereign is wiser for each citizen than he can be for himself, and that government should have the largest functions; the individualist view is that, since the state is made up of individuals, and can be no wiser than they, each citizen can best decide what he can do

Individual-
ism and
Collectivism

THE ARTS OF LIFE

best, and so government should be confined to the least functions.

Tyranny and Anarchy

From a stage of government in which a king was actually sovereign, when the king's will was law, which he made, executed, and interpreted, when he chose his advisers and servants and cut off their heads as he pleased, when he granted "monopolies" and licensed all work and trade, up to the constitutional and democratic governments of our own times, there has indeed been a development in which the large workings of large laws, the counteraction between the centripetal and centrifugal forces in social organization, have been persistently evident, amidst all diversities of detail. The continuing struggle is that between collectivism, the power of the state, whether concentrated in kingly power or organized as democratic socialism, and individualism, the right of an individual to a free path in his affairs so long as he regards the rights of others. Tyranny is the abuse of one, anarchy is the caricature of the other. This conflict of the ages, re-forming in the past, is not less the question of the future, under re-formed democracy, and indeed is the natural line of cleavage between the parties in a democracy.

OF POLITICS

Under any form of government, public opinion as to what government should do follows closely upon what, in its historical development, that government actually does do. American historical Development Regulative functions are in fact so merged into operative functions that in many fields they are confused in the public mind. Americans are so used to the post as a part of government, for which large deficits are to be paid, that they overlook comparison with the not less complicated express, telegraph, and through-car service, admirably organized and self-supporting in private hands. It is not seen that the government may coin money and regulate banks without doing, as now, a banking business. In America, the coördination of national, State, and municipal or other local governments has rather subordinated the question of what government shall do, to the question which government shall do it. The line of party cleavage between those, originally Federalists, afterwards called National Republicans or Whigs, and now Republicans, who favored a strong central nation and a "broad" construction of our written constitution, and those originally Anti-Federalists, afterwards called Democratic Republicans, and now Demo-

THE ARTS OF LIFE

crats, who favored State rights and the liberty of the individual, under a "strict" construction of the constitution, also divides in general those who would have most done and those who would have least done by the several governments, the collectivists and the individualists. But the march of events has often compelled the waiver of party principle, as when Jefferson, without constitutional warrant, purchased the Louisiana territory from France for the nation.

Neither
Extreme
works

In fact, neither extreme plan is in actual operation, or, absolutely applied, works. We may let well enough alone, but we will not let ill alone: the sense of brotherhood makes us to that extent our brother's keeper. But a government may be fraternal without being paternal. The schoolmaster proves the cheapest policeman. Christianity, humanity, bid us care for the sick, and if need be through the state. On the other hand, government fails when it undertakes to regulate everything by law or to monopolize or direct business. Some things laws cannot do. They are indeed nothing unless a public opinion supports them. They are nothing when they oppose themselves to human nature, to the laws of the universe.

OF POLITICS

“Prohibition does not prohibit.” “Protection does not protect.” To attempt too much by governmental machinery either makes the machinery our master or breaks it down.

A free, popular, democratic government should indeed fulfill the greatest good to the greatest number, and must abide by that test. For in a degenerate democracy, which does not accomplish this, but results in concentrating wealth and comfort in the plutocratic few, in which under a seeming individualism a real despotism has developed, the pendulum is sure to swing toward a collectivism tending toward socialism and finally toward communism, the use of the power of the state to control business, “give every man work,” and distribute the social earnings among all the citizenry. This trend is strengthened on the one hand by the professional tendency of an office-holding class of “spoilsmen” to extend its operations into the commercial as well as the political field, and on the other hand, by the discontent among those who fail to get work as well as those who want money without work.

But the development of modern government has been in the struggle of the individual for

Degenerate
Democracy

THE ARTS OF LIFE

The Rights of the Indi- vidual

his own rights. The ancient monarchy was absolute; the modern monarchy is limited. The Greek aristocracy constituted the state; the English aristocracy only controlled the state. In the Greek democracy the citizen served the state: in American democracy the state serves the citizen. The evolution of government culminates thus in the Republic of democracy, the servant and not the master of the people, preserving the public peace, protecting the right of the citizen to live his own life, responsive to public opinion, of local home-rule, differentiated functions and federated nationality, a government truly of, by, and for the people. The citizen is not for the state, but the state for the citizen.

Socialism

Socialism is the re-action, or retrogression, which seeks to make democracy no longer individual, but a collectivism. The citizen is not to live his own life, to mind his own business, to control his own affairs, to be his own master, but is to surrender his individuality to a collective control of private as well as public affairs, for his own good and for the good of all. The citizen is again to serve the state. It is an honest nostrum for the cure of evident present ills of demo-

OF POLITICS

cracy. But to cure those ills we have, we are to "fly to others that we know not of." The argument for socialism is a roseate assumption that because some things, as roads and streets, are effectively managed by the state, — though roads may be ill made and streets ill cleaned, — therefore the state should manage all and subordinate the citizen. The possibilities of the "boss" in a socialistic state are beyond imagining, for there are other motives than money. Socialism is the offer of a social Catholic and infallible church to give peace of mind to the perplexed Protestant willing to surrender his liberty of action to a state Pope called the People. It transfers tyranny from monarchy to democracy. It is the backward swing of the pendulum.

In all government the question how it shall be used is doubly dependent upon the question how it shall be paid for. **Taxation** As money has become more and more the lever of private affairs, taxation has become more and more the problem of government. With progress, the security of the person being assured, the security of property becomes prominent. It is evident that many questions, sure to be

THE ARTS OF LIFE

the live issues of ourselves and our immediate descendants, are questions of property, to be settled by taxation. The payment of the national debt, the banking system, the currency question, the revenue and tariff issue, the land question, the restriction of corporations, communism itself, to all these government must make answer in terms of taxation. On what, on whom, how and to what extent shall taxes be laid — to these simple but not very easy problems the questions of the present and the immediate future resolve themselves. Taxes are a payment by the people which may be the most productive and useful or the most wasteful and harmful of investments, according to the methods by which and the purposes for which they are used.

Social Values

Those values which result not from the labor of individual brains or hands, but from natural resources or social development, would seem to belong not so much to individuals but to the community, either for common, that is, any one's use, or for use by the state or the sovereign as the embodiment of the common-wealth. Thus the sovereign owns all the land, and titles to individual holdings trace back to "grants," and are

OF POLITICS

subject to rights of "treasure trove," of sub-surface values, and in general of "eminent domain." The heroic defense in England of "commons," rights to pasturage, to hunting, to fisheries, has been against encroachments by grantees — not against the sovereign rights. A chief problem to be solved through taxation is how to retain for the people these social values without encroaching on individual rights and earnings, or taking from citizens the stimulus to individual effort. Henry George's assertion was that this whole problem centered on the land and would be solved by a "single tax" which takes for the community the rent of the land, its yearly return from natural superiority or social development, and leaves to the private owner right of possession and the yearly return from his labor in tilling it or his capital in improving it with buildings. Nature gives not only to some land, but to some brains, greater productive capacity than others, and while patent and copyright laws, as provided by the constitution, and the security guaranteed to private property, assure to him the fruits of his brain labor, "income taxes" and legacy and succession duties are a means of reclaiming for the community some portion of the

Henry
George's
Plan

THE ARTS OF LIFE

larger wealth which the coöperation of the community has enabled the richer man to acquire, as in the year of jubilee the Jews were required to make restitution.

Return to
the People

This "social increment," in non-republican states, as even in democratic England, becomes in large measure the income of the sovereign, who in free gift or from motives of policy, returns it in some measure for the use of the people. Thus the palaces and the parks of monarchs become the museums and playgrounds of the people, in many of "the *effete* despotisms of Europe," and music and other entertainment, like the *panem et circenses* of decadent Rome, are sops to Cerberus. Republican France has taken over from the Empire the traditions of a state-supported opera, theatre, and school of music, with free performances on public holidays, and the success of these as educational institutions has led many Americans to look favorably upon this degree of socialism. Certainly, in a democratic republic, the people should come to their own, and be not less "well off" than under less popular forms of government, and when the fruits of the social coöperation accrue rather to a plutocracy than to the people, there is sure to be social discontent.

OF POLITICS

The remedy is perhaps in recovering for expenditure on behalf of the people, through taxation, the benefits of the social increment, and leaving the people otherwise untaxed, so that they have money to use for private and self-supporting enterprises of social improvement or entertainment.

There are some things worth doing which must be done, if at all, by government, because no less extensive form of social organization can cope with the large problem involved. **Large Problems** An imaginative astronomer has indeed seen on the planet Mars evidence of a human life and of a world-coöperation, government on the grandest scale, in a great system of canals, necessary in the drying-up stage of the life-history of that planet, to supply water from its polar to its torrid regions. A great river flows through thousands of miles ; millions at its mouth are dependent upon thousands at its source. If forests are destroyed, droughts and floods follow. No less organization than the power of the nation can cope with affairs of this magnitude. There was like justification for the first Pacific railroad, built across the continent during the civil war, and for the Erie canal in the early history of New York

THE ARTS OF LIFE

State. So, too, in our cities, adequate breathing-spaces can be provided, in great and small park reservations, only through the governmental machinery of the municipality on whose behalf the State exercises its right of eminent domain. In water-supply, the same large treatment is needed. Education is a necessary equipment for the citizen in a democracy, and as some parents could not or would not supply it to their children, the state provides it for all and compels all to come in. The undertaking of postal as well as educational service by most governments is an outgrowth of both lines: mail communication is a matter of education, but is also concerned with vast distances and wide public interests. All these are very practical questions to us and to those who shall come after.

Opportun-
ism

It may indeed be said that in government, as in all human affairs, in the complexities and cross-currents of modern life, it is easier to state principles than to apply them. All governments are the evolutionary results of a process of adaptation. Every step is a resultant of, a compromise between the forces of inertia and of change. Each statesman is in a sense an "opportunist," biding

OF POLITICS

the right moment to bring his principle into play. There is continual conflict between those advocates of principle who desire always to act now, radically and perhaps rashly, and those advocates of policy who would wait "the more convenient season" which perhaps may never come. Between this Scylla and Charybdis, the statesman, the citizen, must always be making his difficult choice. There are times when the highest principle is the timely expediency.

As men come together and the world becomes one, it is seen that the brotherhood of man is the goal of a true and wide patriotism. Yet patriotism, the largest of virtues, may be de-humanized into the most deadly of vices. "Our country, right or wrong!" is a war-cry of savagery, not of civilization. "Our country — may it always be right!" is the peace-word which prevents war. That parties, differing in domestic affairs, should perforce unite in any quarrel, however unjust, with foreign peoples, is a superstition directly inciting party leaders to foreign wars when domestic dominance is in jeopardy. The bravest patriotism is that of the citizen who dares stay his country from wrong-doing in

The true
Patriotism

THE ARTS OF LIFE

face of that wild overwhelming of public opinion — “By Jingo, we will!” — with which the savagery latent in humankind breaks out in each generation. The horrid argument that wars “better business,” — which means for the time the diverting of workers from productive pursuits into a consuming army, the lessening of their number by killing and maiming, the waste of material and destruction of property, and the misdirection of transportation and other industries to unproductive purposes, — means also that the fire which reduces a city to ashes amid a holocaust of human lives is for the common weal. This is the devil’s logic of half truth — and this sowing of tares indeed brings bitter harvest.

The Out-
come of
Democracy

As the wide earth has been “settled,” as the migratory tendency therefore becomes less tribal and more individual, as travel, commerce, education, civilization, the unification of the world, break down the barriers of race; as, on the other hand, men, less “subject” to the forces of nature or to brute-force of men, are their own masters, come to their own, own themselves — the evolution of manhood develops toward self-governing democracy, and makes for peace. Thus at

OF POLITICS

the close of the great century of progress, despite outbreaks of war and conquest and injustice among the nations of the earth, national relations have broadened into international relations, a court of arbitration for all nations is growing from a hope to a fulfillment, and an injustice to one man convulses the whole world. A true democracy, in world-wide brotherhood, will lead mankind toward an age of golden peace.

The Riverside Press

PRINTED BY H. O. HOUGHTON & CO.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

U. S. A.

The Arts of Life

BY RICHARD ROGERS BOWKER

16mo, pp. viii + 306, cl., \$1.25

A book which may be said to fix the highest watermark of the progressive thought of the closing century. The opening sentence of the first chapter—the Foreword—contains the fundamental idea of the whole book: “Life is an art.”—*Library News-Letter, Wilkes Barre, Pa.*

Life is presented through its various forms of expression as the highest of all the arts, and this art is perfected by education, not only through its technical processes but through business, politics, and religion; personality attaining its complete growth only as it is drawn out through these large activities, and only as it adequately expresses itself in these comprehensive relationships.—*The Outlook.*

“The Arts of Life” teaches that of all the knowledge in life the knowing how to live is the most important. The perfect life is that which is in accord with the underlying, pervasive, universal scheme of things.—*Public Opinion.*

The essayist is thoughtful, original, comprehensive, and classic. In many places he is ideal, brilliant, and very suggestive, well-nigh a master in thought and expression.—*Zion's Herald.*

Mr. Bowker's own thoughts are worth being thus recorded for the benefit of others. But the indirect interest of his book, its stimulating influence, will be to many of his readers quite as real a reason for enjoying what he has written. He writes in an easy, fluent style which still does not lack acceptable crispness and force. What he has to say invariably is said well, although with no affectation or parade.—*The Congregationalist.*

We will not venture to say that the book contains no error; but we do say that it contains in little space very much important truth; truth well put, easily understood, and such as—to use a phrase of Lord Bacon's, of whose essays Mr. Bowker's sometimes remind us in more than their titles—comes home to men's business and bosoms.—*Boston Advertiser.*

The whole volume is an attractive treatment of the many questions of social economics that are every day giving thinking people food for thought. Mr. Bowker is clear in his argument and charming in the purity of his diction, and the reputation of the Riverside Press for artistic work is fully maintained.—*Springfield Republican.*

In an age so full of feverish eagerness to drink the wine of life to the lees and wait not, we may well be grateful for every such calm survey of the larger possibilities of existence and its finer aspirations, and no one can read Mr. Bowker's volume without feeling that the atmosphere of his work-a-day world has been cleared somewhat by the breath of some diviner air blown upon him from the heights.—*The Dial.*

Of Education

Very seldom indeed has a more illuminating word been written on education. — *Hartford Courant*.

Of Business

 (*In separate form.* 16mo, pp. 54, cl., 50c.)

The essays on business and politics are the most striking and most valuable. In the former we have an admirable account of labor, capital, trusts, wages, profit, — in fact, all the questions so prominent in our modern economic life. — *N. Y. Commercial Advertiser*.

Of Politics

 (*In separate form.* 16mo, pp. 67, cl., 50c.)

The essay on politics is especially well-conceived and luminous. It is full of such information as the American citizen ought to know. — *Church Standard, Phila.*

His essay on politics is one of the best things that we have lately read. Not that we accept all it contains; but what it presents is so clearly presented and the temper of its style is so reserved and fair that reading it is like listening to the talk of an urbane and diplomatic man of the world. — *The Independent*.

It is the work of a thoughtful man, who would see America built up on the good which lies ready in the other nations to our hand, if we would but look for this rather than for the evil. It is throughout a book of reconcilements, and of proof that life, with many sides, has one heart. — *Chicago Evening Post*.

It is occasion for thankfulness that there are such wise, brave, and inspiring books as "The Arts of Life." It is an optimistic, not an easy-going faith that influences the treatment of these subjects, and the chapter on "Politics" is noteworthy in its firm and brilliant handling of the significance of our American form of government, with its mistakes, perils, and triumphs. — *The Living Age, Boston*.

Of Religion

The chapter on religion is a noble expression of broad and sympathetic thought and feeling. — *Library News-Letter, Wilkes Barre, Pa.*

It is one more contribution to the mass of argument which seeks to persuade those thoughtful enough to read it that the kingdom of God is within us and that environment cannot shake our soul's peace if we will that it shall not. The white light of this great truth dawned upon the world nineteen centuries ago. Such books as "The Arts of Life" are prisms; they help us to see the component parts of the steady ray. — *Brooklyn Eagle*.

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
THE RIVERSIDE PRESS, CAMBRIDGE

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 08815 954 4

